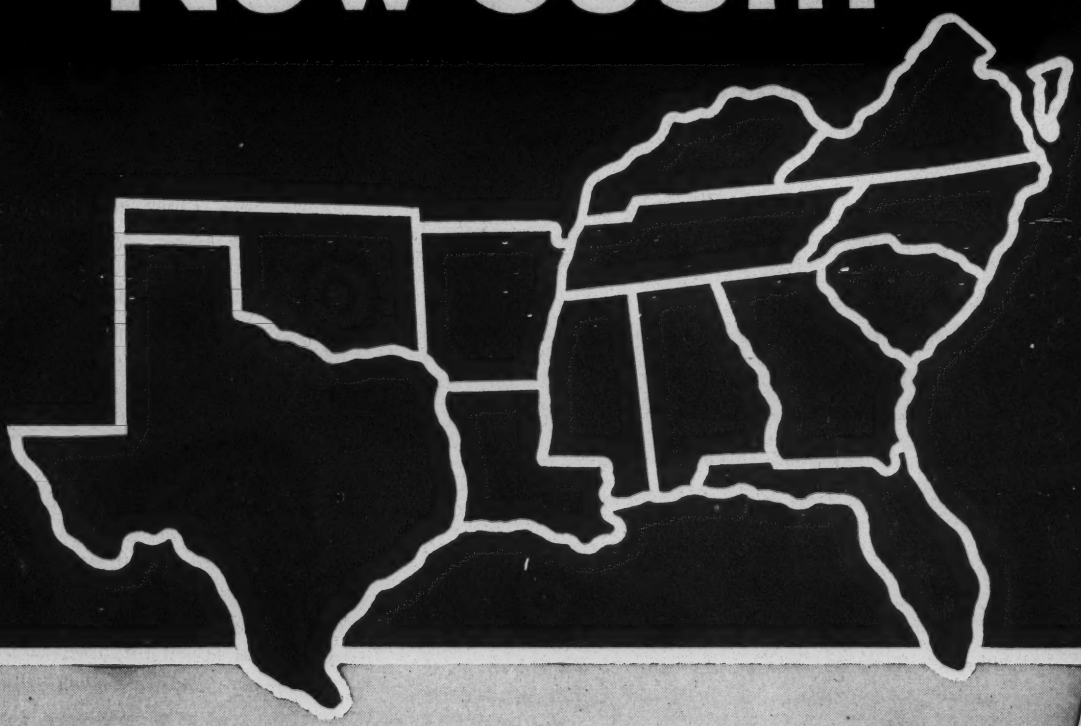
New South



- **North Carolina at Crossroad**
  MALCOLM SEAWELL
- **Alabama Placement Law**
  ARTHUR E. SUTHERLAND
- **Negro Voter Registration**
- **Highlights from Recent Literature**

JANUARY 1959

New South

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New South Notes

Malcolm Seawell, Attorney General of North Carolina, in a speech before the Trust Section of the North Carolina Bankers Association outlined his thoughts on North Carolina's role under the Supreme Court's school decision. *New South* believes this speech will be of interest to its readers and so reprints it here.

The Supreme Court ruling on the Alabama Placement Law has been widely discussed in the South as to its meaning to the desegregation program. Professor Arthur E. Suthlerland of the Law School of Harvard University analyzed the decision and compared it to past decisions of the court. His analysis appeared originally in the New York Herald Tribune. It appears in this issue of *New South* with the permission of Professor Sutherland and the New York Herald Tribune.

The Southern Regional Council is engaged in a continuing survey of Nergo voting registration in the South. In 1957, the Council Published the result of an extensive survey of voting in the region. In this issue, *New South* publishes the preliminary report of a study now underway on this issue.

Stride Toward Freedom is the newest publication of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and is reviewed in this issue of *New South*. Readers will remember Mr. King for his role as leader in the Montgomery, Ala., bus protest, and his subsequent role in the "non violent resistant movement to segregation."

"Highlights from Recent Literature" has become a feature of *New South*. January *New South* presents highlights from recent publications in the field of race relations.

North Carolina At Crossroad*

By Malcolm Seawell

N. C. Attorney General

North Carolina is now at the crossroad. It has come to the place and to the time when it must make a decision not alone for today but for all of the days that lie ahead of it as a sovereign state. Since the case of Brown vs. Board of Education, which was handed down on May 17, 1954, by the Supreme Court of the United States, there have been many spokesmen, including attorneys, judges, governors and laymen, who have declared that the decision in the Brown case is not the law of the land and that it need not be obeyed.

Many people have taken the position that the Supreme Court had no right to "legislate" or to hand down the decision in the Brown case, and that, since the Supreme Court had no right to hand down such a decision, there is no obligation on the part of people to obey or to accept the Brown decision as the law.

In Arkansas, we have had presented to us a view (a long range one) of what may happen to people who seek to evade the law of the land. The school board in Little Rock submitted a plan for gradual integration, starting with the senior high school and working down through the various grades, with desegregation to be accomplished in the 1960's. This plan was acceptable to the federal courts and never reached the Supreme Court, although tacit approval of the original Little Rock plan was given by the Supreme Court in its decision of Sept. 29, involving the Little Rock School Board.

The governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, won a sweeping victory for re-election as governor of that state upon a platform defiant to the law of the land. When the Supreme Court of the United States, in affirming the Circuit Court of Appeals, denied Little Rock a two-and-a-half year stay, the governor of Arkansas immediately called a session of the state legislature to pass laws conforming to a constitutional amendment giving him power to lease public schools to private individuals or corporations for the operation by the private individuals or corporations of segregated schools.

This action the Supreme Court of the United States has now declared is unconstitutional. The people of this state and elsewhere recall with revulsion the action of the President of the United States in sending troops to Little Rock, Ark. Soldiers with bayoneted rifles around the high school of Little Rock will long remain in the memory of the people of this nation.

But, whatever our thoughts about the Supreme Court of the United States, its interpretation of the Constitution of the United States becomes the law of the land, and, whatever our personal feelings about that law may be, the signs at the crossroad where we now stand as a people clearly spell out to us that there can be neither definance nor evasion of the law of the land.

**Speech to N. C. Bankers Association Trust Section*

North Carolina

(Continued)

Those states which seek to evade have been and will continue to be unsuccessful, and, to those states, there are but two avenues which remain open—an obedience to the law or avoidance of the law. To avoid the law, the state merely goes out of the business of public education. That day should never come to North Carolina.

Let me give you some idea of the investment which we as a people have in public education in North Carolina, when that investment (if such is ever possible) is expressed in dollars and cents. The state budget for public education in North Carolina in the year 1958-59 is $162,060,000. The total cost of our schools in this state for the year 1956-57 was $169,000,000. Of this cost, the state paid $132,000,000, local governments participated in the amount of $29,500,000 and the federal government participated to the tune of $7,554,000. Throughout this state the total value of public school buildings is approximately $600,000,000. This figure of $600,000,000 is the present value of school buildings and equipment and does not reflect a replacement value. Replacement value would be considerably in excess of $1,000,000,000.

Over the years since the state first entered the field of public education under a program sponsored by our great governors, the major portion of our tax dollar has gone into our public schools. We have worked out a system which has as its aim the equalization of public education for all of our children, regardless of their place of residence. This has been done so that a child in a rural or small town community may receive an education here in North Carolina comparable to that received in this state by children in the larger and wealthier communities.

But public education can never have a dollar valuation placed upon it. Our schools are there for a purpose, and that is that our children may be educated and may grow up to be a blessing to their communities, to their state and to mankind. This year in our public schools, we have approximately 1,086,000 children. That is the figure which should be more compelling to us than the dollar mark. The school population is increasing year by year, and our obligations to the children are increasing with every new school year.

It is unthinkable to me that any people possessed of their senses would say, in effect: "We will close our schools and let our children grow up in ignorance." In small part, we are seeing that happen in other states, particularly to the immediate north of us.

Based upon the figures which I have already given you, if the schools in North Carolina should be closed for one day, it would result in a loss of 6,028 child years of education. In other words, it would take one child 6,028 years of perfect attendance to make up this total loss. And, of course, on the basis of the number of children in school, to close the schools for a year would result in the loss of 1,085,000 child years.

I need not tell you that there is a relationship, not given to accurate mathematical calculations, between education and income. As a rule, the better educated the child, the more income he will have. Our state, despite its great strides in all fields of endeavor, remains too near the bottom in per capita income.

To remedy that condition, our state is making an all-out effort to attract industry to North Carolina, to improve farming conditions, and to make this more and more a state of greater opportunities to the people who are here and to those who will be attracted here.

No large businesses will desire to locate in a state where its employees will not have available for their children the opportunity to be educated. When school doors are closed, progress must of necessity, and for many reasons, come to an end.

Not only is it my oath-bound duty to support and maintain the Constitution of the United States and its laws, and the Constitution of the State of North Carolina and its laws not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, but it is my duty as a citizen, just as it is your duty, to promote the welfare of all of the people of North Carolina.

While I have said over and over again that I do not like what the Supreme Court of the United States has done and what it continues to do in the field of public education, it is my duty as a public official and as a citizen to urge the people of North Carolina to consider what havoc defiance will bring to us.

It is not a pleasant thing to speak out for obedience to the law and then to receive letters such as the following, which was, of course, unsigned: "When the peoples of North Carolina want your advice on education, they will ask for it. When did you join the NAACP, you nigger lover."

However, distasteful may be the job which is assigned by law to me, I intend to take my stand on the side of law—and neither through public utterance nor in any other manner will I seek to advise a people to take any other stand than that which I know under law is the only stand we may take. If this is politically inexpedient, dangerous or fatal, I'll just have to be content with what the future holds for me.

The most damaging blows yet given to the attempts on the part of people who, in good faith, seek to keep alive public education in the South have been given by Orval Faubus of Arkansas.

Little Demonstration

We here in North Carolina are not in the same boat as are the people of Arkansas, and, while there has been some small demonstration by that putrid outfit which calls itself the Ku Klux Klan, any resentment on the part of the people as a whole has been kept in check by them—and that's the way it should be.

Recently, in two successive issues of the U. S. News and World Report, which is a highly regarded weekly news magazine, the statement was made that it was the general concensus that North Carolina had the best program dealing with integration of any of the states involved. We have been called a "middle of the road state," because of the fact that we, under our own North Carolina laws, do not seek to nullify the law of the land, nor to avoid it, nor to defy it. We simply seek to work out what is best for all of our people, and, under law, to preserve free public education.

We must not be swayed by extremists on either side. We must, in good faith, take that middle-course, which will, under law, save us.

Alabama's Placement Law's Test Will Be Application

By Arthur E. Sutherland
Harvard Law School

Reprinted
from
N. Y. Herald Tribune

The United States Supreme Court's most important decision of Nov. 24, 1958, which will affect far more human beings than any other judgment of that day, was expressed in a memorandum only a few words long.

The memorandum affirmed, without oral argument, a District Court judgment upholding the constitutionality "on its face" of the Alabama School Placement Law.

This judgment will not permanently permit Alabama, or any other state, to segregate Negro students on racial grounds. But it will give such states a little more time to carry out their programs of delay.

A common device in states resisting the Supreme Court's desegregation judgments has been to adopt school laws which, as written, contain no reference to the race of pupils, but provide for their classification on grounds which, for education purposes, are beyond criticism.

Thus the Alabama School Placement Law, enacted in 1955 and 1957, provides for assignment of pupils to schools with respect to available room, teaching capacity, suitability of curricula, adequacy of preparation, scholastic aptitude, relative intelligence, psychological qualification, and so on. Few school administrators would criticize such criteria as written.

The Negro school children who, through their parents, attacked this Alabama law, did so on the theory that when it is applied administrators will assign Negro pupils to segregated schools because they are Negroes, and will only pretend to use the unimpeachable criteria of the statute.

The children's difficulty in the case was absence of any proof that the Alabama schools officials intended to misuse the statute.

The Negro plaintiffs brought in no evidence tending to show that they had been excluded because of their race; and the lower Federal Court dismissed their complaint, saying:

"The School Placement Law furnishes the legal machinery for an orderly administration of the public schools in a constitutional manner by the admission of qualified pupils upon a basis of individual merit without regard to their race or color. We must presume that it will be so administered. If not, in some future proceeding it is possible that it may be declared unconstitutional in its application."

The Supreme Court affirmed this lower court judgment solely upon that ground.

One can predict with confidence that the device of pretended classification on educational grounds, but actual segregation on racial grounds, will not have a long life in any state. The Supreme Court has already spoken on the subject in other contexts.

1886 Ruling Noted

In 1886, the Court condemned the administration of a San Francisco ordinance forbidding maintenance of a laundry in a wooden building without a license. On its face this ordinance would be a fire precaution; but a Chinese named Yick Wo showed that 200 applications for licenses by Chinese laundrymen were denied, while all applications save one, made by non-Chinese, had been granted. The Supreme Court unanimously held that when the ordinance was thus discriminatorily applied, the usage fell afoul of the Fourteenth Amendment.

In 1935, the Supreme Court applied the same principle to an Alabama jury law. The statute described admirable non-racial qualities for selecting a jury panel, but state officials actually selected no Negro jurors whatever. The Supreme Court held unconstitutional the conviction of an accused Negro by a jury so selected.

Officials In Dilemma

The Alabama school law decision of Nov. 24 leaves the officials of that state in a dilemma. If they put all Negroes in one set of schools and all white children in another, giving as their reason some non-racial educational criteria, their racial actions will speak louder than statutory words, as happened in the cases of laundrymen and jurors.

But if the Alabama schoolmen apply their law literally as it is written, they will inevitably find some Negro children whose scholastic aptitude and other traits are such as to place them on a par with white children and in that case segregated schools in Alabama will be on the way to their end by the action of their own administrators. But the discriminatory uses of the Alabama statute have not been demonstrated in court; for the time being Alabama has the benefit of the doubt.

The Supreme Court has lately been criticized for going out of its way to aid public-school Negroes. In the Alabama case, the court hews to the line of legality, but one can predict with some confidence that this is only a temporary set-back for racial equality in education.

Negro Voter Registration Remains Constant in South

News Release
of
Southern Regional
Council

The number of Negro voters in the South remained constant in the past two years despite increased racial controversy, according to a voting study by the Southern Regional Council.

Currently, there are an estimated 1,266,488 Negroes on voting rolls in eleven Southern states, compared to 1,238,000 reported by the SRC in 1956. The latest figures, representing 25 per cent of Negroes of voting age, are contained in a preliminary report of a Council survey following up its study of 1956.

Figures from six states came from official sources; in the others, the totals are estimates of veteran capitol news correspondents, who consulted with state officials and political workers.

The new total, which indicates that Negro voters held their own, and even showed a slight increase, came in the wake of newspaper surveys which show that in the country as a whole the number of eligible voters has dropped in the past two years.

This figure represents "something of an achievement" in the face of the disinterest prevalent nationwide at the time of off-year elections and in view of recent trends in the region, the SRC said.

"The intervening two years since the earlier SRC survey was made have brought increased racial tensions in the South, passage of the first federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, a long list of federal court decisions to speed the Negro toward full legal equality and new state laws to delay change in racial patterns."

In some states the number of Negro registrants rose appreciably between 1956 and 1958 but these gains were

largely offset by sharp drops in other states due to purges and statewide re-registration.

In Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, where official figures show a decline in Negro registration, the number of qualified white voters also dropped. The lower registration of both races in South Carolina was attributable mainly to the total re-registration this year, as is required every 10 years in the state.

Registration increased among both white and Negro citizens in North Carolina and Virginia.

In Louisiana, the white registration increased while Negro registration fell from 161,410 to 130,000 in the past two years, due in large measure to widespread purges in several parishes. Pro-segregation groups in that state have made a concerted effort to strike Negro voters from the rolls.

"In certain areas," the SRC said, "it undoubtedly has become more difficult for Negroes to register, because of new voting restrictions and stricter applications of the old requirements. In some sections where political leaders have fanned racial prejudices, Negroes are even more hesitant about attempting to register than they were two years ago. But, in many parts of the South, lack of political consciousness remains the greatest barrier.

"Leaders of both races long have contended that if all bars to Negro voting were removed tomorrow, there still would not be a great rush to the polls. This is not expected until Negroes have been able to raise their economic and educational levels, their leadership has been broadened and they have reached a position where their political participation promises more tangible results. Neither the new civil rights legislation nor the federal agencies created by it promise any quick or dramatic improvement in Negro suffrage. Even where registration boards are cooperative, a gradual process of political education obviously will be required."

But, the Council emphasized, "all this should not obscure the fact that the trend is upward and that the long-range prospect in the South is for a Negro registration comparable to the white."

The Southern Regional Council is an interracial organization of religious, educational, labor, business, and professional leaders in 12 Southern states.

State-by-state totals:

	Negro Registration 1958	Negro Percentage of Total Registration
(1)		
Alabama	60,000	6.9
Arkansas	64,023	11.4
Florida	144,810	9.1
Georgia	158,051	12.4
Louisiana	130,000	13.7
Mississippi	35,000	6.8
North Carolina	150,000	7.5
South Carolina	57,978	10.8
Tennessee	185,000	13.2
Texas	150,000	6.8
Virginia	131,626	14.1
Totals	1,266,488	10.9

(1) (The totals are official for Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia, although in Louisiana, where reports were missing from three parishes, these were interpolated, on the basis of 1956 figures. Reports from the other states are estimates.)

Highlights From Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

• • •

"The People Take the Lead." The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. January, 1959. Single copy, 25c.

The following highlights from this annually published nationwide survey of civil rights advances were taken from the AJC "Fact Sheet on *The People Take the Lead.*"

Armed Services: Racial segregation has been eliminated in all of the armed services, and in VA hospitals.

Citizenship: Regisration of Negro voters in the South has more than doubled in 10 years, reaching 1,266,488 in 1958. . . . In 1957, Congress adopted the first civil rights law in 82 years; the first Federal challenge of maneuvers barring qualified Negro voters from the polls is now before the courts.

Education: Close to 2½ million white and Negro children are in Southern public school systems that have been, or gradually are being, desegregated. . . . Some 220 formerly segregated colleges and universities now admit Negroes.

Employment: Fair employment is now enforced by law in 14 states, and by Federal regulation in firms doing business with the Government. More than one-third of the population is protected by state or local FEP statutes.

Housing: Restrictive covenants were ruled unenforceable by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1948. . . . Segregation in *public* housing has been barred in nine states and many major cities, including Louisville, Ky., and St. Louis, Mo. . . . Several state laws and court rulings have hit at discrimination in *publicly-assisted* housing, including dwellings financed with VA or FHA mortgages. . . . First ordinance banning racial or religious discrimination in *private* housing was adopted in 1958 by New York City.

Public Accommodations: Twenty-two states have laws banning racial or religious discrimination in public facilities. . . . U. S. Supreme Court has barred racial segregation in *interstate* (1951) and *intrastate* (1956) travel. . . . Discrimination in Washington, D. C. has been virtually wiped out.

Religious, Professional, Fraternal and Civic Societies: Mergers of formerly all-Negro and all-white congregation and ministerial associations have taken place in many parts of the country. . . . Scores of medical, educational, legal and other professional societies have opened their ranks to Negroes. . . . Some 40 Greek-letter societies in colleges and universities are taking steps

to end discriminatory membership practices.

• • •

Taeuber, Irene B. "Migration, Mobility, and the Assimilation of the Negro." *Population Bulletin*, Volume XIV, Number 7, November, 1958. Population Reference Bureau, Incorporated, 1507 M Street, N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

At mid-century, certain legal, social, economic, and demographic trends have drastically changed the prototype of the American Negro. Background for understanding one of the nation's major domestic problems lies in the demographic record which, supplemented by other statistics, reveals a massive migratory movement and notable changes in the pattern of birth and death in the Negro population.

By 1950, only one-fifth of the nation's non-white population was classified as "rural farm." In the South there were two and one-half times the number of Negroes in all fifteen slave-holding states a century earlier. In the North there were more Negroes in 1950 than in all the Confederacy at the time of the Civil War. The "Negro question" is no longer a rural problem in nine Southern states. It has become mainly an urban problem and it is nation-wide in scope.

This paper, primarily an analysis of essential demographic statistics, concludes that the population history of the Negro over the last century is an impressive one and today the stage is set for even more rapid advance. The demographic frontier in the movement toward comparability with the general population once was the exodus from the farms and the South. Today, it is the movement from concentrated settlements into the diversified types of areas appropriate to the education, the incomes, and the social status that individuals have achieved.

• • •

Miller, Arthur S. "The Strategy of Southern Resistance." The *Reporter*, October 2, 1958, pp. 18-20.

The basic strategy of Southern resistance to the Supreme Court decisions is to establish doubt about eventual compliance—to create and nurture the idea that the decisions can be circumvented. Along with an attempt to create disrespect for the Supreme Court (and any form of Federal power having an adverse effect on the South), legal devices are employed, all designed to cause delay and to wear down the opposition. The latter falls into two distinct types: (1) state segregation laws backed up in the courts by the state's legal counsel; and (2) the use of law and legal process to harass those attempting to further desegregation.

The chances of success for the legal maneuvers of the South involve the issue of the Equal Protection clause of the 14th Amendment. Although predictions of Supreme Court decisions are rash, the ultimate success of placement laws and private school plans is doubtful. Here, legal ploys become involved in politics. How far are white Southerners willing to go in support of massive resistance?

Historically there have been instances of defiance of Supreme Court decisions, but in those cases, no attempt was made by a dominant majority to subjugate a minority. That difference, plus "the unifying forces of modern technology," may well be decisive.

Stride Toward Freedom

STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM. By Martin Luther King, Jr. 230 pages. Harper and Brothers, New York. $2.95.

> MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept 5 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was fined $14 today for refusing to obey a police officer.
>
> When Dr. King, a Negro integration leader, refused to pay the fine, Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers paid it so the defendant would not go to jail a "martyr." (New York *Times*)

It is somehow satisfying to picture in one's mind the Montgomery Police Department, on the September morning described above, as cruelly mischievous boys mistaking a turtle for a terrapin on a cloudless day. However, one wonders if even thunder would have caused the Rev. Martin Luther King to release his grip, had it not been for the unlikely benefaction of the Police Commissioner of the "Cradle of the Confederacy." Or, perhaps not too fancifully, would not the heavens have lent their aid by remaining perpetually clear? For, in many ways, all things seem to have worked for the good of Dr. King and the 50,000-odd Negro community of Montgomery, Alabama, whose monumental "stride toward freedom" in 1955-56 is the subject of the book here reviewed.

Newspaper accounts of Dr. King's recent arrest and subsequent release—his third since the inception of the variously called "Montgomery movement" in December, 1955—reveal a newborn sensitivity among Montgomery's officialdom. While it is not likely that the historical and ethical implications of recent happenings in his city are appreciated by such men as Police Commissioner Sellers, it can be said with some certainty that he and his colleagues are now very aware of the interest with which the world receives news from Montgomery, the veneration accorded Dr. King by the city's minority Negro populace, and, above all, the power and determination, the sheer courage of that minority group. It was not so in the fall of 1954, when Martin Luther King, Jr., assumed the pastorate of Montgomery's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

It is with his application for this position that Dr. King begins "Stride Toward Freedom." The arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks, who did not give up her seat on one of the city buses in order to allow a white man to sit, followed in December of 1955, and it is, of course, with the movement protesting Mrs. Park's arrest that the book is largely concerned. However, the overt action of the protest, a boycott of the city transportation system by the Negro community, is not in the opinion of this reviewer the chief concern of "Stride Toward Freedom," nor is it in the recording of this action that the book excells. (It is further felt that the story of what happened in Montgomery has not yet been translated into words which do credit to the dignity, the drama, the form and inherent artistry of the mass protest movement itself. Perhaps the dramatic or cinematic art forms could most adequately render these elements, yet the factual report has at times risen to the level or art in its use. One thinks with a certain longing of some of the newsletters from Koinonia Farms.)

Dr. King's viewpoint in these pages is admittedly personal, and if the figure of the narrator sometimes eclipses the action in "Stride Toward Freedom," it is at no great loss to the reader, for there is strong public interest in the personality of the author. Further, the roots and tendrils of non-violent resistance as it occurred in Montgomery are perhaps best seen through the eyes of the man who shaped and cultured its growth, and finally, the reader is served well when an autobiographical style reveals significances extending beyond the individual, as Dr. King's style does in the following passage:

> "Every parent at some time faces the problem of explaining the facts of life to his child. Just as inevitably, for the Negro parent, the moment comes when he must explain to his offspring the facts of segregation. My mother took me on her lap and began by telling me about slavery and how it had ended with the Civil War. She tried to explain the divided system of the South—the segregated schools, restaurants, theaters, housing; the white and colored signs on drinking fountains, waiting room, lavatories—as a social condition rather than a natural order. Then she said the words that almost every Negro hears before he can yet understand the injuries that makes them necessary: 'You are as good as anyone'."

Other instances of significances not merely personal are frequent. Another illustration is this passage, with its underlying dilemma of universal implication:

> ". . . I was forced for the first time to think seriously on the nature of the boycott. Up to this time I had uncritically accepted this method as our best course of action. Now certain doubts began to bother me. Were we following an ethical course of action? Is the boycott method basically unchristian? Isn't it a negative approach to the solution of a problem? It is true that we would be following the course of some of the White Citizens Councils? Even if lasting practical results came from such a boycott, would immoral means justify moral

Stride

(Continued)

ends? Each of these questions demanded honest answers."

At this point the influence of Dr. King's earlier intellectual training provided an escape from an ethical stalemate and a guide to the form the boycott was to assume: "As I thought further I came to see that what we were really doing was withdrawing our cooperation from an evil system, rather than merely withdrawing our economic support from the bus company. The bus company, being an external expression of the system, would naturally suffer, but the basic aim was to refuse to cooperate with evil . . . Something began to say to me, 'He who passively accepts evil is as much involved in it as he who helps to perpetrate it'."

And it is with the resolution of the dilemma that the book begins to achieve its excellence, for here Dr. King emerges as a suasive spokesman for non-violent resistance to racial oppression.* There is in the concluding chapter a particularly eloquent plea for the Gandhian method which "like the synthesis in Hegelian philosophy . . . seeks to reconcile the truth of the two opposites — acquiescence and violence — while avoiding the extremes and immoralities of both." Dr. King is further revealed as a perceptive analyst of the needs and failures of this generation in meeting its "indescribably important destiny— to complete a process of democratization which our nation has too long developed too slowly." Several passages from the text will best illustrate the heights sometimes reached in "Stride Toward Freedom."

> "In the South . . . the initial white reaction to Negro resistance has been bitter. I do not predict that a . . . happy ending will come to Montgomery in a few months, because integration is more complicated than independence. But I know that the Negroes of Montgomery are already walking straighter because of the protest. And I expect that this generation of Negro children throughout the United States will grow up stronger and better because of the courage, the dignity, and the suffering of the nine children of Little Rock, and their counterparts in Nashville, Clinton, and Sturgis. And I believe that the white people of this country are being affected too, that beneath the surface this nation's conscience is being stirred."
>
> "This is a great hour for the Negro. The challenge is here. To become the instruments of a great idea is a privilege that history gives only occasionally . . . The Negro may be God's appeal to this age— an age drifting rapidly to its doom. The eternal appeal takes the form of a warning. 'All who take the sword will perish by the sword."

**Evidently Dr. King does not always advocate a pacifistic approach. Unless it has been misinterpreted by the reviewer, this statement from his student days is here relevant, for it is presented in the present tense: "War, horrible as it is, might be preferable to surrender to a totalitarian system—Nazi, Fascist, or Communist." On the surface this statement does not seem compatible with the methods of non-violence, and it is felt by the reviewer that clarification or justification is needed.*

. . . Unquote

". . . the Christian conscience abolished slavery and now is struggling to establish the human rights of all free men against racial intolerance, discrimination, and arrogance."

Dr. Harry Fifield, Pastor,
Atlanta First Presbyterian Church,
Quoted in *Atlanta Journal*

• • •

"I do fear for my beloved Southland. We of the favored race need to exert ourselves a little more to build bridges of understanding to the minority group."

Brooks Hays
Quoted by Associated Press

• • •

"Every day we read about the tragic situation in cities and states where they have refused to plan, where they preferred to stick their heads in the sand and pretend the problem didn't exist. What happened in Little Rock could happen here. We've got to solve our school problem peacefully. If we don't plan now, we'll have chaos."

Robert King High,
Mayor, Miami, Fla.,
Quoted by *Wall Street Journal*

"Hit both by weather and tension over the school segregation issue here, the six-day Arkansas Livestock Show closed . . ., with attendance off sharply from 1957, when the segregation issue also had hurt. . . . The segregation issue kept Negroes away. Normally, about 45,000 of them attend, but at the wind-up, Clyde Bird, show manager, estimated that fewer than 300 went thru the gates."

The Billboard
Quoted in Arkansas Council
on Human Relations Newsletter

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"Whatever a person's views on segregation may be, of one thing we can all be sure. Florida cannot afford to close its public schools."

From an Editorial
in the *Miami News*

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"We would like to see that when desegregation does come, it is done peacefully, quietly, and without violence. This would be something no other large city has been able to do."

Joe Reynolds,
Houston School Board Attorney,
Quoted by Associated Press